

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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CINCEUR
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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, GR, TU

SUBJECT: GREECE-NATO RELATIONS - AD HOC GROUP MEETING
AND TROOP RECOMMITMENT

REF: (A) USNATO 1901, DTG 011800Z APR 77;
(B) USNATO 895, DTG 17099Z FEB 77;
(C) USNATO 864, DTG 151751Z FEB 77

(D) USNATO 895, DTG 17099Z FEB 77;
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(E) STATE 49473, DTG 051817Z MAR 77;
(F) USNATO 865, DTG 151805Z FEB
(G) USNATO 614, DTG 031930Z FEB 77
(H) STATE 67416, DTG 260244Z MAR 77
(I) ATHENS 3068, DTG 051405Z APR 77

1. WE CONCUR IN AD HOC GROUP MEETING FOR WEEK OF

APRIL 18 AS DISCUSSED REF A. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE FOR MEETING MODIFIES AND SUPPLEMENTS THAT PROVIDED REFTEL B.

2. RECENT TURKISH DEMARCHES CRITICAL OF GREECE'S JANUARY 27 STATEMENT ON ITS FUTURE RELATIONSHIP TO NATO CANNOT, WE BELIEVE, BE LIGHTLY DISMISSED. THE TURKS HAVE COME TO SEE THEMSELVES AS BELEAGUERED MEMBERS OF AN ALLIANCE UNWILLING TO HELP THEM OBTAIN A SUFFICIENT LEVEL OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO CONTRIBUTE AS FULL PARTNERS. IN

NATO. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THEY HAVE BEGUN TO ADOPT INCREASINGLY HARD POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE GREEK-NATO RELATIONSHIP, SO AS TO FRUSTRATE WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE GREECE'S ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP A SPECIAL STATUS AND GET A "FREE RIDE." THEIR HOSTILITY TOWARD PERCEIVED GREEK APPROACH IN NATO IS, OF COURSE, INTENSIFIED BY GREEK CRITICISM OF TURKEY IN JANUARY 27 PRESENTATION. DEPTH OF TURKISH FEELINGS IN THIS REGARD ALSO EVIDENT IN THEIR COMMENTS ON SUBJECT DURING CLIFFORD MISSION (REF D).

3. IN VIEW OF THIS EVIDENT AND INCREASING TURKISH SENSITIVITY, MISSION SHOULD REVIEW WITH PANSA FOLLOWING APPROACH WHICH WE PROPOSE AD HOC GROUP TAKE IN ITS FIRST MEETING. APPROACH IN OUR VIEW IS DESIGNED (A) TO SHOW ALLIANCE UNDERSTANDING OF TURKISH CONCERNS, MANY OF WHICH HAVE CONSIDERABLE VALIDITY, BUT (B) ALLIANCE UNWILLINGNESS TO PERMIT TURKS TO PARALYZE ENTIRE AD HOC GROUP PROCESS. AD HOC GROUP SHOULD ALSO, WE BELIEVE, BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER SECRET

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SPECIFIC PROCEDURAL CONCESSIONS TO MAKE SEPARATE TECHNICAL TALKS MORE PALATABLE TO ANKARA.

4. IN ORDER TO EVIDENCE UNDERSTANDING OF TURKISH CONCERNS OVER GREEK PRESENTATION (AS EXPRESSED BY KIRCA TO AMBASSADOR IN REFTEL D, AND WHICH TURKS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY REITERATE IN AD HOC GROUP MEETING) MISSION SHOULD, (AFTER REVIEW WITH PANSA) MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS IN MEETING IN CONJUNCTION WITH GUIDANCE PROVIDED REFTEL B:

--THE US GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONDONE A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN GREECE AND NATO. THIS IS NOT WHAT WE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER ALLIES AND NATO AUTHORITIES, ARE STRIVING FOR IN THE CURRENT GREECE-NATO DISCUSSIONS. WE HAVE TOLD THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THAT OUR GOAL IS GREECE'S EVENTUAL RETURN TO FULL AND UNQUALIFIED PARTICIPATION IN NATO. WE THEREFORE TAKE ISSUE WITH THOSE PORTIONS OF THE GREEK PRESENTATION WHICH IMPLY SOME KIND OF A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP."

--WE AGREE THAT THE JANUARY 27 GREEK PAPER IN PLACES HAS AN UNFORTUNATE TONE WHICH DOES NOT SERVE TO ADVANCE DISCUSSIONS IN THIS FORUM.

--WE BELIEVE THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD ADDRESS THESE DRAWBACKS AND RESPOND TO THEM (AS THE TURKS PRESUMABLY WISH.)

--AT SAME TIME, WE SEE GREEK PAPER AS PART OF A CONTINUING NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT, EACH

GREEK PRESENTATION TO THE AD HOC GROUP HAS BEEN MORE FORTHCOMING THAN THE LAST.

--WE BELIEVE THAT THE PAPER REPRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE IMPORTANT OPERATIONAL ISSUES THAT THE TURKISH DELEGATION IN THE PAST HAS RIGHTLY FLAGGED AS REQUIRING
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CORRECTIVE ACTION. THESE ISSUES, WE BELIEVE, CAN BE THRASHED OUT MOST EFFECTIVELY AND QUICKLY IN TECHNICAL/MILITARY DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF SACEUR AND OTHER NATO AUTHORITIES. THE AD HOC GROUP BY NATURE IS BETTER SUITED TO POLITICAL OVERSIGHT AND DECISION-MAKING THAN STAFFING SPECIFIC ISSUES. AT SAME TIME, AD HOC GROUP SHOULD MONITOR THE TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS CLOSELY AND PROVIDE CONTINUING GUIDANCE. IT CAN SIMULTANEOUSLY ADDRESS THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE GREEK PAPER.

∴ IN AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION ON NEXT PROCEDURAL STEPS, WE WANT TO HARMONIZE TURKISH DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ALL ASPECTS OF GREECE-NATO DISCUSSIONS WITH NEED TO MOVE TO TECHNICAL/MILITARY LEVEL. WE MAY FIND IT NECESSARY (AS INDICATED REFTEL B) TO YIELD TO TURKISH DESIRES FOR A MORE ACTIVE AD HOC GROUP ROLE. SOME POSSIBILITIES WHICH MIGHT BE BROACHED IN MEETING AND WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN ADVANCE WITH PANSA FOR HIS COMMENTS AND ANY ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS INCLUDE:

(A) MORE FREQUENT MEETINGS OF AD HOC GROUP TO REVIEW TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS THAN WE MIGHT OTHERWISE DESIRE; AND

(B) PARTICIPATION BY TURKISH OFFICERS IN TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS (AS SUGGESTED BY PANSA IN REF F).

6. WE CONCUR IN THRUST OF MISSION ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED REFTEL G REGARDING SPECIFIC SUBSTANTIVE POINTS IN GREEK PRESENTATION. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON REFTEL G IN COORDINATING WITH PANSA AND MUMFORD AND AS NEEDED IN AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSIONS THEMSELVES.

7. FOR ATHENS: RE ISSUE OF FORCE COMMITMENT
DISCUSSED REF A, WE CONCUR THAT FOR THE MOMENT BEST PLACE
TO PURSUE THIS ISSUE IS IN ATHENS RATHER THAN BRUSSELS,
AND WE ALSO AGREE THAT THEODOROPoulos IS THE LOGICAL
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GREEK OFFICIAL TO APPROACH. EMBASSY ATHENS ACCORDINGLY
SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS TO HIM WHICH MODIFY THOSE
CONTAINED IN PARA 3 REFTEL H;

--DAVOS LETTER OF OCTOBER 21 TO SACEUR PUT GREECE CLEARLY
ON RECORD AS RECOMMITTING AS OF THAT DATE CERTAIN NUCLEAR-
CAPABLE UNITS.

--JANUARY 27 GREECE-NATO PAPER LISTS SAME UNITS AS DAVOS
LETTER BUT MENTIONS NO DATE AND LEAVES QUESTION OPEN AS
TO WHETHER RECOMMITMENT HAS ACTUALLY TAKEN PLACE.

--WE AND APPROPRIATE NATO AUTHORITIES ARE OF COURSE AWARE
RECOMMITMENT HAS ACTUALLY TAKEN PLACE THROUGH DAVOS LETTER.
HOWEVER, OTHER ALLIES CAN ONLY JUDGE FROM LANGUAGE OF
JANUARY 27 PRESENTATION WHICH, WHILE FORTHCOMING, IS NOT
CLEAR AS DAVOS LETTER ON RECOMMITMENT OF NUCLEAR-CAPABLE
UNITS.

--WE BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT RECORD SHOULD BE SET STRAIGHT
AND FACT OF GREEK RECOMMITMENT CLARIFIED FOR THE OTHER
ALLIES. THEY NEED TO KNOW WHAT GREECE HAS DONE SO THAT
GREECE-NATO DISCUSSIONS CAN PROCEED ON PROPER FOOTING.

--THERE ARE A NUMBER OF WAYS GOG MIGHT RESOLVE THIS MATTER.
ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE FOR GREEK PERMREP TO AUTHORIZE
DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL PANSO TO ELIMINATE ANY MISUNDER-
STANDING BY TELLING AD HOC GROUP ALLIES THAT GREEK NUCLEAR-
CAPABLE UNITS ARE IN FACT IN "NATO EARMARKED" CATEGORY.
PANSO MIGHT BE AUTHORIZED TO EXPLAIN THAT AS GREEKS HAVE
POINTED OUT IN JANUARY 27 PRESENTATION, QUESTIONS OF
MILITARY PLANNING, DPQ PARTICIPATION, ETC., WILL BE TAKEN
UP IN FUTURE DISCUSSIONS, BUT THE ENUMERATED NUCLEAR-
CAPABLE UNITS HAVE BEEN COMMITTED TO NATO AS A FIRST STEP.
SECOND POSSIBILITY WOULD BE FOR GREEK PERMREP TO SEND
LETTER TO PANSO CONVEYING THESE POINTS AS ADDENDUM TO
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JANUARY 27 PAPER.

8. YOU SHOULD TELL THEODOROPULOUS THAT WE BELIEVE THIS CLARIFICATION WILL BENEFIT THE GREEKS IN THAT IT HIGHLIGHTS THE FORTHCOMING NATURE OF THE GREEK PRESENTATION AND HOPEFULLY WILL DEFLECT SOME OPPOSITION TO THE MORE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE GREEK PRESENTATION WHICH ARE BOUND TO PROVOKE COMMENT AND OPPOSITION. YOU SHOULD ALSO POINT OUT THAT WHILE WE UNDERSTAND GREEK DESIRE TO SEE FURTHER GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED SOLELY ON THE TECHNICAL/MILITARY LEVEL, IT IS SIMPLY NOT POSSIBLE OR PRACTICAL TO AVOID ALTOGETHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL, I.E., IN THE AD HOC GROUP. THEREFORE, WE THINK IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR THE GREEKS TO CLARIFY THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE AD HOC GROUP ALTHOUGH THE TECHNICAL LEVEL TALKS WOULD BENEFIT AS WELL.

9. FYI - WE INTEND TO FOLLOW USNATO RECOMMENDATION IN REFTEL A AND OUTLINE TO LUNS DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT OUR VIEWS ON GREEK RECOMMITMENT. WE INTEND TO TELL HIM THAT WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY, IN VIEW OF GREEK SENSITIVITIES, HE WOULD PREFER NOT TO RAISE THIS MATTER WITH THEM. THEREFORE, WE ARE ASKING GOG TO CLARIFY ITS POSITION ON RECOMMITMENT. HOWEVER, WE ALSO WANT TO MAKE THE POINT WITH LUNS THAT THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A BILATERAL MATTER. ADMITTEDLY, WE USED BILATERAL CHANNELS TO URGE THE GREEKS TO MAKE THEIR INITIAL RECOMMITMENT AND BILATERAL ISSUES WERE INVOLVED. BUT THE OVERRIDING IMPLICATIONS OF THE GREEK ACTION ARE ALLIANCE ONES SINCE THE GREEKS IN EFFECT HAVE MADE A PARTIAL RETURN TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. WE NOW HAVE TO TRY TO BUILD ON THIS FIRST STEP TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS.

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